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these sources. Ixcatepec and Santiago are situated farther down the valley, outside the protecting walls, along the San Jerónimo, a tiny stream which arises in Tepoztlán and flows into the Rio Yautepec. The other five hamlets are almost or quite without immediate water; indeed, at Santa Catarina all water is carried to the town from a distance of about half a mile.

The small villages are naturally tributary to Tepoztlán because Tepoztlán is the large village to which they are nearest, but more particularly because most of them lie along the principal roads leading out of Tepoztlán. At the upper end of the valley, where the mountain wall is low, two roads go out: one north to Mexico City, the other southwest to Cuernavaca. San Juanico is situated on the former road; just off the latter road lies San Andres, and directly on it, Santa Catarina. The third road runs southeast down the widening valley to Yautepec. On this are situated Ixcatepec and Santiago. Santo Domingo and Amatlán lie on no main artery of travel, and for this reason they are much less definitely a part of the constellation of communities than are the other five. Much less often do the inhabitants of these two hamlets contribute to the market at Tepoztlán, or attend the *fiestas* there.

There is a great deal of travel among the villages of Morelos, and nearly all of it is travel on foot. A man or a woman of Tepoztlán will not infrequently make weekly trips, on foot, to Yautepec or to Cuernavaca, and will make the thirty-five or forty miles there and back in one day, often bearing a heavy load both

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ambition to reduce unbroken ground begin now to clear the brush and weeds from *claculoles*.[1] During this otherwise-idle season men repair houses, walls, roads, fountains. Everywhere around the village householders are carrying stones to replace those fallen from broken walls, or are putting new tiles on roofs. Groups of men, working co-operatively, rebuild broken washing stones, relay stones in the streets, or build new water tanks on street corners.

During this period fairs are held in some of the larger villages in Morelos, and these draw some from Tepoztlán who make the journey usually on foot, occasionally in part by train. The dates of the fairs are given according to the number of Fridays preceding Holy Week. Thus, "the first Friday" is the fair of Chalma and also that of Xiutepec; "the second Friday," that of Tepalzingo. Then follow the fairs of Tlayacapan and Mazatepec. Some men make the rounds of all these fairs.

Palm Sunday, El Domingo de Ramos.—On this day people bring palm, laurel, and cedar to the church to be blessed.

Holy Tuesday,[2] *Martes Santo.*—Men assist the *mayordomos* to decorate the church, to dress the images, and to prepare the candles for Holy Week. A table is laid in the yard of the Templo Mayor, and in

[1] *Tlacololli:* pieces of unbroken land on mountain slopes first reduced to tillage by clearing. They are allotted out of the communal *ejidos*.

[2] Frances Toor (*Mexican Folkways*) says Thursday, but this is probably an error. The old custom was to build a prison for Christ, she says, and imprison the image all night.

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476 653 [624] [463] The municipal government, it has already been suggested, is more formal than actual; and there are few special functionaries in charge of public repairs and improvements. The *ayuntamiento* employs men to care for the building in which the government has its offices, and to sweep and water the central *plaza*. But other repairs and maintenance operations are performed by individuals or groups of neighbors particularly concerned. If a water tank is dirty, it remains so until someone who draws water there is moved to spend the time and labor necessary to clean it. Tasks requiring many men and involving several techniques and kinds of materials are done by men living in the [621] *barrio* where the repair must be made. If the proposed work is considerable, the consent of the *ayuntamiento* must first be obtained. This is, however, almost entirely formal. The local government does not pay for the work out of local funds or employ workmen. For example, when in 1927 a new set of stone troughs for washing clothes was put up where the *barrio* of La Santísima meets that of Santa Cruz, one of the *ayudantes* living in Santa Cruz asked consent of the *presidente*. A few of the elder men of the two *barrios* organized a party to make the repairs. One contributed the lime; another hauled the sand; others labored for a day or more. The *ayuntamiento* con- [273] tributed nothing but the *aguardiente*.

[651] [192] [449] Such co-operative labor is stereotyped, and bears the special name *cuatequitl*. This word is from the ordinary word for work (*tequitl*) and a root meaning

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"head," much like the "poll" in our "poll tax." Co-operative repair of streets is *cuatequitl*. The co-operative labor by which harvests are brought in is *cuatequitl*. So is the co-operative work done in connection with the support of the *santos;* the cleaning of the chapels, and the preparation of the chapel and its yard for a *fiesta*. Such work is regarded as the moral obligation of the individual to perform. The request of an elder to join in such work is not lightly denied. The limited observation upon which these statements are founded would suggest that such requests tend to assume an almost ritualistic character; the request is almost a formula. A group of men go about from house to house, announcing the proposed work. One says, characteristically, "*moztla mitztocaroa cuatequitl*" ("Tomorrow it falls to you to do *cuatequitl* [of a certain sort]").[1] The word *cuatequitl* is always used.

Cuatequitl is, quite plainly, the survival of communal labor reported from both the Aztec and the Maya areas. It is probably characteristic of all parts of Mexico where Indian heritages are strong.

There are, however, a score or more classes of specialists in Tepoztlán, and a description of the extent to which labor is divided is, as always, a description of the intellectual life of the community. A special interest to the situation in Tepoztlán is derived from the fact that the specialists there fall into two distinct classes, one of which represents the self-sufficient

[1] In this Nahuatl phrase the Spanish verb *tocar* ("to fall to the turn of," "to pertain to") is used as though it were a Nahuatl root.

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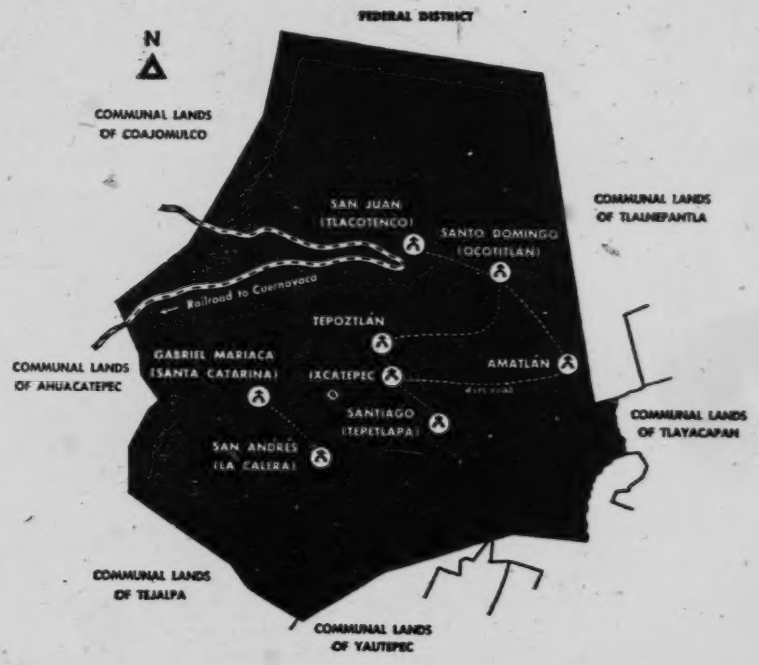

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Fig. 2. Tepoztlán and surrounding municipios.

caliente or the hot zone. San Juan, the highest village, is at the lower limit of *tierra fría* while San Andrés, the lowest village, is at the upper limit of *tierra caliente*. Three of the villages, Tepoztlán proper, Ixcatepec, and Amatlán, are at approximately the same level within the temperate zone. Santo Domingo is about intermediate between the cold zone and the temperate zone, and Santiago is about intermediate between the hot zone and the temperate zone.

To the north of the village is the mountainous and heavily wooded area locally known as the monte, which constitutes approximately fifty per cent of the total area of the municipio. The predominant trees are pine, fir, oak, and madroña.[2] The monte with its forest constitutes the greatest single natural resource of the municipio. It has traditionally been the source of firewood, lumber, and charcoal; and, as we shall see later, the monte has been the subject of bitter inter-village

[2] The species of trees in the monte are as follows: oak or *encino* (*Quercus reticulata*), (*Quercus albocinata*), and (*Quercus Laurinea*); fir or *oyamel* (*Abies religiosa*); pine or *ocote*, (*Pinus patula*); *Cuazochitl* (unidentified).

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MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Tepoztlán has relatively good means of communication. It has a railroad, a modern highway, bus service, mail service, and one telephone. As we have seen earlier, the railroad was built about 1900. The building of the railroad was particularly significant, for it encouraged the commercial exploitation of certain natural resources on a scale formerly impossible. The railroad is used primarily for the transportation of wood and charcoal to Mexico City.

In 1936 the asphalt road connecting Tepoztlán with the Mexico City–Cuernavaca Highway was completed, and shortly thereafter a bus cooperative was organized.[46] The line was successful and expanded. At present there are two bus lines to Cuernavaca, both owned and operated by Tepoztecans and in bitter competition with each other. In 1944 each line operated four buses which ran every hour from seven in the morning to seven at night, seven days a week. The round-trip fare to Cuernavaca was 90 centavos. Both lines carried more than 1,600 Tepoztecan passengers to Cuernavaca and back each week. Four days a week there was an average of 175 passengers. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, the market days in Cuernavaca, there was an average of 300 a day, and 300 to 400 on Sundays.

Before the construction of the road, communication between Tepoztlán and surrounding regions was primarily by burro and by foot. The most frequent trading and social contacts were with Yautepec, about three hours' distance, and with Cuernavaca, about four hours' distance. Since the road has been built it takes about forty-five minutes to Cuernavaca by bus and about twenty minutes by private car. Since the coming of the road, Cuernavaca has replaced Yautepec in importance. This shift is significant because the greater cultural sophistication of Cuernavaca has accelerated the rate of change in Tepoztlán. The road has had many other far-reaching effects which will be discussed later.

Tepoztlán has had mail service since 1926, and mail is delivered daily. Redfield reported in 1926 that there was an average of about twelve letters a day, most of which were for families living in the center. In 1944 there were about thirty letters daily. This increase was relatively small considering the great increase in literacy, trade, and population.

Tepoztlán has had a telephone and telegraph since before the Revolution, but the lines have rarely functioned. In the early thirties the telephone was repaired, but there is little occasion for its use, except for official business. The bus lines have changed this situation somewhat, for the bus line officials have more frequent occasion to communicate with Cuernavaca.

[46] The first bus line was established by a man from Cuernavaca but it was soon taken over by Tepoztecans.

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After the harvest many Tepoztecans leave for the haciendas, returning to the village and their families only once a week. Those who prefer to remain at home spend their time in making charcoal, cutting wood, making rope, or taking up one of the many part-time occupations available.

BY OCCUPATION

Tepoztlán is a community of peasants, merchants, and artisans, but it is essentially agricultural, and over ninety per cent of the gainfully employed are farmers. The occupation of farming has high status in the village, and the young men look forward to being farmers. Farming is not the sole occupation, but is combined in various ways with other gainful activities.

There are at least twenty-six non-agricultural occupations in Tepoztlán, with a total of 273 individuals engaged in them. The largest groups include storekeepers (20), teachers (21), masons (25), bakers (23), *curanderos* and midwives (28), and ropemakers (42). The next largest group consists of butchers (15), barbers (15), corn merchants (13), charcoal makers (13), tile and brickmakers (12), and employees of the bus line (17). In addition there are shoemakers (5), carpenters (9), ironworkers (3), *chirimiteros*[1] (6), *huehuechiques*[2] (2), fireworks makers (6), mask makers (6), *mágicos* (1), silver workers (2), millers (3), druggists (2), chauffeurs (6), and plumbers (2). (See Table 19.)

It should be noted that 186 individuals, or 68 per cent of the 273 engaged in the above occupations, own their own milpas. This incidence of land-ownership is nearly twice the incidence of land ownership in the village as a whole, and indicates that the artisans and those with special occupations tend to be in a better economic position. Most of the artisans and merchants fall into the middle economic group of the village.[3]

Fifty-three of the 273 individuals engaged in these occupations are women, who are found in only six of the twenty-six occupations and are distributed as follows: storekeepers (5), teachers (10), butchers (4), bakers (2), *curanderos* and midwives (23), corn merchants (9). It can be seen that women predominate in teaching, curing, and as corn merchants. However, in the latter they are the smaller operators. Also, the few men who engage in curing enjoy greater prestige than the women in this field.

The occupations listed above represent a peculiar mixture of the old and new. Some, like the *chirimiteros, huehuechiques, curanderos,* masons, mask makers, charcoal makers, and ropemakers, probably had their counterpart in pre-Hispanic days. Others, such as storekeepers, shoemakers, and carpenters, have probably existed in the village since the colonial period. Still others, such as the teachers, bakers,

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[1] The men who play the traditional music on the chapel roofs at fiestas in celebration of the saints. They use a primitive wind instrument called the *chirimía.*

[2] The men who know the traditional Náhuatl words and ritual in the ceremonies which form part of the fiestas for the saints.

[3] See Chapter 9, "Wealth Differences and Levels of Living," p. 173.

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TABLE 19. Occupations, 1926 and 1944.

Occupations	Total in 1926 (Redfield)	1944					
		Total	Men	Women	No. Owning Milpas	No. Working in Milpas	No. with Additional Occupations
Storekeepers	5	20	15	5	15	6	4
Teachers	2	21	11	10	12	4	..
Butchers	3	15	11	4	9	7	1
Shoemakers	2	5	5	..	2	3	1
Carpenters	3	9	9	..	7	8	2
Masons	4	25	25	..	18	24	5
Ironworkers	2	3	3	..	3	3	1
Bakers	6	23	21	2	11	18	2
Barbers	5	15	15	..	11	14	4
Curanderos and midwives	23	28	5	23	14	4	1
Chirimiteros	3	6	6	..	6	6	3
Huehuechiques	2	2	2	..	2	2	1
Fireworks makers	2	6	6	..	5	6	1
Mask makers	3	6	6	..	5	6	4
Mágicos	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Corn merchants	2	13	4	9	9	2	..
Silver workers	..	2	2	..	1	1	..
Ropemakers	..	42	42	..	39	41	9
Charcoal makers	..	13	13	..	9	9	2
Millers	..	3	3	..	3	1	..
Tile and brickmakers	..	12	12	..	9	12	..
Druggists	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Chauffeurs	..	6	6	..	3	..	..
Plumbers	..	2	2	..	2	..	..
Bus line employees	..	17	17	..	12	11	..
Candlemakers[a]							
Total[b]	69	273	220	53	186	160	23

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[a] Redfield did not give figures for the occupation of candlemaker. In 1949 there was only one candlemaker, who had a limited local trade. Most of the candles used in the village are made in Cuernavaca. Upon the death of the now aged candlemaker, this occupation will probably disappear in Tepoztlán.

[b] These totals, except Redfield's column, have been corrected for duplications of occupations. Twenty-three individuals have more than one profession so that the same individual may appear as ropemaker, charcoal maker, etc. Because we lacked the necessary data on overlapping of the occupations listed by Redfield, we could not arrive at an accurate number of individuals, although it was most certainly less than 69.

[174] millers, barbers, druggists, chauffeurs, and bus employees, are more clearly modern, and most of them date from the time of the construction of the road in 1936.

[491] One of the most important trends in the village during the past twenty years has been an expansion in the number of occupations and an increase in specialization. [178] There are two kinds of specialists in the village, full-time and part-time. Among the latter are (1) specialists who divide their time between two or more occupations, and (2) specialists who divide their time between their specialty and farming. Still another distinction can be made within both of the above categories,

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be called upon for service to the community. Failure to respond to such a call is punishable by a fine or jail sentence. However, a man can pay the daily wage of a substitute if desired. When the task is a relatively small one and more men are called up than are needed for the actual work, some are asked to contribute food or drink instead of labor.

The better-to-do families generally do not participate in the village *cuatequitl*, since they consider such work beneath their dignity and prefer to pay for substitutes. The main source of labor for the village *cuatequitl* are the poor who cannot afford substitutes or fines. The men from the smaller and poorer barrios have the reputation of being the most industrious and reliable workers for the *cuatequitl*. This is related to the fact that they have little political influence and have greater fear of the authorities.

The village *cuatequitl* is organized in terms of the eight *demarcaciones* or wards into which the village is divided. The *ayudante* or representative of each *demarcación* is ordered to announce a *cuatequitl* in his ward, and specific men are designated to appear at a given time and place. The attendance of the men is checked by the *ayudante* from his list.[11] Sometimes, when men are needed at short notice, more direct means are used to assure successful recruitment.

In a recent boundary dispute with the municipio of Tejalpa, the authorities posted aides at all the roads and paths leading out of the village to intercept the men as they went to their fields early in the morning. In this way 600 men were recruited in one day, and they were set to work to cut through the forest overgrowth which covered the disputed boundary line. In this case, since it was a municipio boundary, men from the other villages were also recruited. Other instances of inter-village *cuatequitl* have occurred in the repair of bridges which are used in common.

In recent years there have been very few village *cuatequitls* of major importance. In 1934 some work was done to improve the market place. The last important village *cuatequitl* was organized in 1926–27 while Redfield was in the village.[12] At this time, under the initiative of the local political faction known as the Bolsheviki, communal washbasins were constructed. (See Fig. 20.) During the twenties, political feelings ran so high and cleavages were so marked that members of the opposition group refused to work in *cuatequitls* organized by those in power. Fines were out of the question at the time because authority could not be enforced.

During the early thirties, when political schisms were still strong, there occurred an unusual type of voluntary village *cuatequitl* for the construction of the road to Cuernavaca. Led by two enterprising non-Tepoztecan schoolteachers and with the backing of the colony of Tepoztecans in Mexico City, the villagers decided to build a road to Cuernavaca. The two political factions, the Bolsheviki and the Frater-

[11] Some men will work until the check-off and then slip away.

[12] Before the Revolution, when there was more money in the local treasury and when the local government was in the hands of *caciques* whose tenure was quite stable, there were many more *cuatequitls* than now.